1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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her daughters her reputation is dependent, just as the honour of the children is itself contingent on the sexual virtue of their mother.

The final stage of a woman's life is the period between the marriage of her eldest son and her death. She now gains a new freedom both from the authority of her husband, who retires about this time, and from the restrictions of social convention. She goes freely into shops to make small purchases for the family and may stop to pass the time of day with unrelated men she meets. With a young bride to do the heavy work about the hut she at last finds a respite from constant drudgery, and her sons treat her with a new-found respect as the mistress of the extended family. Such an old woman should have a kind heart and treat the wives of her sons with firmness but justice. She is their moral guide and practical adviser, to whom they turn in difficulty or doubt. At childbirth she is the midwife who delivers their children and gives them comfort and courage.

The reputation of an old woman is already formed on the basis of her behaviour in earlier life. If she has passed through her life without any questioning of her virtues, if she has sons who are manly, and if she has a kindly personality, the community probably approves of her. When she is above sixty years of age, or if her husband is dead, the sexuality of woman is considered to be spent and she is said to have a 'clean soul' (καθαρὴ ψυχή). Such a woman draws the water and kneads the bread which is taken to church at Easter. In these respects the prestige of some old women is considerable.

But old women are also feared. Knowledge of magic techniques and remedial procedures for the evil eye are attributed to them; and their curses are believed to be efficient *ex opere operato*. Where old women have a good name they use these skills in a socially approved manner to protect their families from spiritual dangers. But certain old women have a reputation for the evil and aggressive use of these powers. In these cases there are often allegations of dishonour in earlier life. A woman who surrenders to lust loses her soul to the Devil and remains his familiar. Envy is often the motive ascribed to her. Typically she is the woman accused of magically impairing a bridegroom's potency because he did not seek the hand of her own daughter. The attribution of envy often rests on valid

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man to maintain it. God and the Devil fight a pitiless and continuing battle for the souls of men in which the three elements are the grace of God, the cunning and subtlety of the Devil, and the will of man.

The Sarakatsani consider man's nature to be a trichotomy of spirit (πνεῦμα), soul (ψυχή) and body (κορμί, σῶμα). Although the views of different informants are not always clear about these conceptions (for instance some people see no difference between spirit and soul) nevertheless certain simple assumptions appear to be generally accepted. Spirit and soul together form a union with the body, yet between the first two elements and the last there is a degree of tension. The body is a product of material and sexual generation and is only redeemed when it is informed by a nobility of spirit and soul. Conversely, when the spirit and soul are dependent on the values and passions of the body, honour is lost and communion with God is interrupted. Spirit refers to the intellect plus the conscience (συνείδηση). Its natural inclination is to prompt a man's will (θέλησῃ) to lead his soul upwards to God. It is associated in a man's mind with the Holy Spirit (Ἅγιο Πνεῦμα) whose nature is imperfectly understood as some divine energy. Evil befalls where for one reason or another the power of a man's spirit is not guiding his actions. Of a Sarakatsanos who shot his brother accidentally while cleaning a pistol it was said that 'his spirit was not concentrated'. And it was added, 'the Devil pulled the trigger'. The soul is the divine element in the individual human personality. Perhaps spirit and soul are the active and substantive aspects of the same thing. Both tend in an upward direction, but if the individual as a total personality does not incline his will towards God they become corrupted by their union with merely material things; and this is the end sought by the Devil.

It may be added that where a high value is given to the related notions of honour, strength, and manliness, the body cannot be considered as evil in itself,[1] but only under the aspect of its subjection to sensual passion. Man, then, who is by nature noble, normally moves towards a closer communion with God but is held back partly by the sinful condition of the world

[1] In this connexion it is interesting to note that the dualist Bogomil heresy made little headway in Greece.

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685 577 783 [784] responsible to God for the sin which he has committed. In order to be absolved he must later confess his sin publicly "during a drinking bout among pals or during the shearing." His account testifies at one and the same time to his pride in the accomplished prowess and to his belief in punishment inflicted by the Supreme Judge, the remission of which is dependent on this which unfortunately we cannot go into more deeply for lack of data. This aspect is encountered again in another case: that of the destruction of a beehive. That act is considered criminal for, through it, "one kills many souls" (the souls of the bees) and deprives the Church of the wax that the bees could produce.

685 577 825 [674] [794]

This way of adjusting the punishment to the circumstances merits our attention. For it shows us how Sarakatsani society conceives of justice and reparation in these specific instances.

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By shooting at the thief they are merely defending their property and possible their lives. Any recourse to protection from the police is not possible to those who live in the mountains and on the edge of a hostile and indifferent state; so there is nothing left for them but to shoot at the one who threatens (and in any case with an armed hand) to deprive them of their means of subsistence and possibly their lives.

[625]

/222/ If, after the theft, they are content to demand restitution of the animals carried off or simply to retaliate in order to be compensated, that is because there is no longer any question of defense, and all that is involved is compensation for the damage caused. If the culprit does not want to conform, his refusal is merely a further challenge, a new wound to the pride of the robbed owner; and it is in response to this humiliation that the latter seeks to kill the thief. If he does not do so he will be dishonored in the eyes of his associates.

Finally, the pride of the unpunished thief and the admiration of the others for his prowess are very understandable. Among a people who live in difficult and always dangerous conditions, courage and skill, even when directed toward evil, inspire respect. However, the public confession shows that the bravery does not gainsay the illegal character of this act.

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789 121 These remarks, though brief, show very well that the magical action of our herders has about it nothing mechanical or constraining. The forces do not act automatically or obligatorily simply because the magic practice has been carried out. The wish of man, expressed in his acts, is evocative but not determining. It seems that the wish represents, rather, a challenge thrown out to these forces, but without the certainty that the latter will rise to it. Finally, when the desired effect is produced the Saraktasani is dominated by the feeling that something exceptional has been accomplished, and his soul is filled with wonder and exaltation. 781 794

121 789 153 All these states of the soul, a product of mythical ideas put into /303/ magical thought, are bound up indissolubly, actually or potentially, with his thought. This enables us to understand that Sarakatsani magic, despite the intellectual aspects that we have particularly emphasized, is not a mechanical or rational magic, but includes components and living experiences which make it much richer than analogical reasoning or any other reasoning.

To come back to our problem, the states of the soul as described constitute for Sarakatsani magical thinking a sort of ambience with which the latter is suffused, although in actuality they cannot be separated from it. Seen from the standpoint of structure, this ambience represents the foundations of all the layers of their magical thinking, whether the rites involved or those transmission or any others.

121 789 This means that the rites of simple transmission, too, are accompanied by uncertainty with regard to the achievement of the desired effect, and by respect and wonder at the result accomplished. Obviously, these feeling are relatively subdued as compared with those that arise in connection with other magic practices. One finds here nothing mechanical, automatic or, coercive that would require the desired property and quality to be transmitted to man or animals.

/346 cont./

771 181 829 Doubtless a Sarakatsani joke about themselves for an ever lively and mocking spirit manifest itself at every turn, but also /an expression of/ detachment with regard to sacred matters, based on the belligerent nature of these nomads resulting from their condition, which allows them effectively to brave men, nature and the supernatural.

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771 157 781 The Sarakatsani is not a mystic. His undeniable religiosity is not piety, but, according to the famous formula of R. Otto, (20)

20. See R. Otto: Le Sacré, p. 28 f.

it is linked to the mysterium tremendum /great mystery/ and does not emanate from a "pure experience of the sacred" which unites man to the universal creator. He must evoke divine forces, he must engage them [804] by certain manipulations to intervene in favor of such and such a solution, he must be in conformity with the laws of the Church, for a person has a soul and must render an account some day. But being lifted up to the sacred is an idea that does not touch the spirit of the Sarakatsani to whom mystical ecstasy is a psychic state of this kind; thus, the spirit of the Athenians listening on the Areopagus to Saint Paul's sermon made them laugh when the orator began to speak of the resurrection of the dead! Nevertheless, it would be excessive to consider this thought an explanation, since an analysis of this phenomenon in particular has not yet been made. Yet the Sarakatsani, a man of action above 771 157 [182] all, plunged in insecurity, as /347/ has been emphasized elsewhere, seeks to overcome obstacles by his beliefs and his practices. His religiosity and his attachment to ritual are thus explained up to a certain point by this fact. (21)

771 776 114 21. Madame Hadjimichali, in her work, A. I., p. ρλξ' f., maintains that the Sarakatsani, in their interpretation of Christianity, basically accept only the existence of the